THE STUDY

OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA AND TRINITY UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, IN MAY, 1889.

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I.—*The Study of Political Science in Canadian Universities.*

By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT.

(Read May 25, 1889.)

In commencing this paper I cannot do better than refer you to a statement made on a recent occasion by a brilliant lecturer and essayist, Prof. Seeley of Cambridge, with reference to the important part that the universities of a country can and ought to perform in the fruitful field of Political Science. He believes that it should be among the principal objects of the great universities of England—and I commend his words to the heads of similar institutions in the Dominion—"to give coherence, connexion, and system to the thinking of the nation;" and he looks forward to the time "when the English Universities will extend their action over the whole community by creating a vast order of high-class popular teachers, who shall lend their aid everywhere in the impartial study of great questions, political or other, and so play a part in the guidance of the national mind, such as has never been played by universities in any other country."[1]

These words are pregnant with meaning for ourselves. Among the significant changes that have been made within a few months in the educational system of some of our universities, none is likely to be fraught with more important results to Canada than the effort to give superior opportunities to students of learning the nature of our system of government, and of studying all those branches of knowledge that relate to its operation and make it more intelligible.

In a country like this, with an elaborate system of local and parliamentary government, it is a matter of growing importance that no institution of learning should keep exclusively within the old beaten paths of classical and mathematical learning, but should endeavour to bring itself as far as possible in accord with the practical aspirations of the world around it and launch boldly into the current of political and philosophic thought and study, so as to be in touch with the actual requirements of these busy and energetic times.

The study of Political Science is making rapid headway on this continent, and those of you who desire more information on the subject cannot do better than refer to the valuable series of publications published by Johns Hopkins University, which devotes especial attention to this interesting branch of knowledge. Cornell, Harvard, and Columbia Universities also give superior facilities to students for perfecting themselves in studies so important to the people of a country of popular institutions. In this respect the American universities probably offer somewhat larger advantages to the student than even Oxford and Cambridge since they give special importance to Political Science as a department of study. The names of Maine, Stephen, Seeley, Bryce, Free-

[1] Contemporary Review for July, 1888, p. 65, "The Impartial Study of Politics."

man, Dicey, and Stubbs, I need hardly tell you, stand in the foremost rank of constitutional writers and indicate the desire on the part of the great English seats of learning within recent years to strengthen this branch of higher education. It has been well observed by Mr. Andrew White, who presided for many years so ably over Cornell University, that a remarkable change has taken place in this direction on the part of Oxford and Cambridge since he first visited them thirty years ago "when the provision for instruction in political and social science, to say nothing of the natural sciences, was wretchedly inadequate."[1]

It is to France and Germany confessedly that we should look for the most perfect system of education of this class. No country in the world has more effective methods of administration, or a better instructed civil service, than the Empire of Germany — the very qualities which have made the German soldier a remarkable military machine tend to fit him for official life. The German is educated to habits of obedience and discipline in all walks of life, and has had from his youth excellent opportunities for instruction in all branches of knowledge. He is naturally plodding and industrious. He studies in universities where the opportunities for being deeply grounded in all branches of knowledge are not surpassed by institutions in any other country; for a long time they have given a special course of training suitable for political life or the work of administration. The same thing may be said of France, where the official service has been always admirably administered by servants of the state capable in every essential particular. Whatever may be the faults of the politicians of that great country, it can be truly said that the permanent public service, by the stability, capacity, and knowledge of its members, has proved a veritable bulwark against the impulsiveness and unsteadiness of the politician or demagogue at times of intense political excitement.

The College of France and the Independent School of Political Sciences in Paris have for a long time past presented a course of studies, which enable a diligent student to make himself thoroughly conversant with all those branches of history, and of Political Science which assist him to master the great problems of government and social life that are daily presenting themselves around him, and help to make him a more useful member of the commonwealth.

It is therefore eminently satisfactory to find that Canada is commencing to follow, in this particular, the example set her by the countries just mentioned. Our population and wealth are very insignificant as yet compared with the United States, or with those peoples from whom the two races that inhabit this Dominion derive their origin and institutions; but though it may not be possible for us for a while to offer the large opportunities which the rich institutions of these countries give to the student, still it is for us to make a beginning, and lay the foundation for the study of those branches of knowledge which are admitted to be essentially within the province of all seats of the higher education that wish to be *en rapport* with the times.

No course of studies is better calculated to profit the student than this, when it is fully and faithfully carried out. It is one inseparably connected with the vital interests of the whole community. Every man, woman, and child has an interest in the efficient administration of government, and in the impartial execution of the laws. These

[1] See Johns Hopkins University Studies, 5th Series, xii.

are matters which relate immediately to human happiness, and those studies which teach the principles on which all good government must rest, the respective duties, powers and privileges of the different executive, legislative and judicial authorities, and the eternal maxims of civil liberty, are studies which, when taught in the spirit of a judicious and honest historian, are well worthy of the name of a science, and should obtain a preeminence over all departments of thought and study, except the teaching of the true lessons of Christianity. In the words of the distinguished essayist from whom I quoted in commencing this lecture: "If there is a science of politics at all, it must needs be almost the most complicated of all sciences. It deals with that curious phenomenon called the State, which is a kind of organism composed of human beings. The lives of individual men, even the greatest men, are included in the life of the State; almost everything indeed is included in it. Does not the very thought of studying such a vast comprehensive phenomenon, and of discovering the laws that govern it, give rise to a feeling of bewilderment? Does it not strike you that this study must rest upon other studies, that this science must presume the results of other sciences, therefore that it cannot be properly studied by itself? . . . Would you know what is wise and right in politics, you must consult experience. In politics, as in other departments, wisdom consists in the knowledge of the laws that govern the phenomena, and these laws can only be discovered by the observation of facts, history. If this is so, how can we avoid the conclusion that such a study of politics as you meditate cannot be separated from the study of history?"

Canada, though a young country compared with the old civilizations of Europe, presents a very interesting field for the student in this department of study. Though not a national sovereignty like the United States, and therefore probably inferior to it in that respect as an object of contemplation and reflection for European statesmen, its political history, its fundamental law and constitution, its economic system, its social institutions and the racial characteristics of its people are worthy of the close study, not only of Canadians, but of all persons who wish to follow the gradual development of communities from a state of cramped colonial pupilage to a larger condition of political freedom which gives it many of the attributes of an independent nation, never before enjoyed by a colonial dependency.

A course of Political Science, to be in any measure complete, would mean that we should study, in the first place, the political history of our own country, from the time the French laid the foundation of their colonial government on the heights of Quebec, down to the conquest of Canada by England in 1759-60, and thence through all the political and constitutional changes which have brought about a federation of provinces under the somewhat ambitious name of "Dominion." This historical study necessarily leads us to review the political and social conditions of old France during the century and a half when Canada was under its government. We cannot fail to see how the conflict between Great Britain and France for centuries actually meant a conflict for supremacy in America, and how the development of French Canada was retarded by the ambitious designs of the French monarch in Europe, and the way consequently made easier for the triumph of the mother country on this continent.

The history of the unfortunate differences which led to the separation of the old thirteen colonies, the state of political parties in England during the days when the people of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were contending for extended political

rights, and the causes that led English statesmen at last to change their policy towards these dependencies of the Empire, and to grant the large measure of self-government we now enjoy, are more or less of an historical as well as political nature, and clearly enter into the domain of Political Science. Indeed, history and the political sciences are so closely associated that so high an authority as the late eminent Prof. Francis Lieber, of Columbia College, in the city of New York, made these studies an independent and homogeneous department in that excellent institution. On this point Prof. Herbert Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, has said with much force: "There is a valuable and suggestive idea in Lieber's first combination of history and politics, which ought to influence all American colleges and universities in the proper coördination of these studies. If, for economic or other reasons, there must be a grouping of various subjects under one administrative head, history ought rather to be yoked with political science than with language, literature or philosophy. The nature of History and Political Science determines their intimate relation, if not their necessary coördination. *History is past politics and politics is present history.* History is, primarily, the experience of man in organized societies or so-called states. Political Science is the application of this historical experience to the existing problems of an ever progressive society. History and politics are as inseparable as past and present. This view is justified by the best historical and political opinion of our time—Ranke, Droysen, Bluntschli, Knies, Roscher, Nitzsch, Freeman, Seeley, and by the practical experience of the best American colleges and universities."[1]

Among the studies that naturally enter into the domain of Political Science we may mention the study of general and historical jurisprudence, which necessarily opens up a large field in a country like this, where one province, inhabited by a million and a quarter of people, has a system of law drawn from the civil law of France, which again rests on the principles of that famous Roman law which has entered into the institutions of so many nations of Europe, and more or less affected the civil conditions of nations who have exerted, and continue to exert, such important influences on the destinies of the world.

It is generally admitted that the common law of England itself exhibits to the careful inquirer traces of the influences of Roman law, and that the principles that govern equity jurisprudence have been largely drawn from the same remarkable source. But in studying that great system of common law, which is the basis of the jurisprudence of all the English-speaking communities of the Dominion, the student of Political Science will naturally take a philosophic survey of English history in order to obtain an accurate insight into the genius of those principles, usages, and laws of action which have from all times been applied to the government and the security of persons and property in England. The political and civil liberty which we now enjoy is the natural heritage of English communities throughout the world, and its main principles can be traced to the maxims of the common law. It illustrates the sturdy, independent spirit of the English race, and its determination to resist all the efforts of monarchs, with the assistance of servile statesmen, to establish an arbitrary power in the realm. The great principles on which our parliamentary government rests had their origin in maxims in vogue in the

[1] Study of History in American Colleges and Universities, by H. B. Adams, Ph. D., p. 67.

early times of English history. It was asserted, for instance, in all times, that representation and taxation must go together—that those who pay must vote the taxes. The Great Charter did not strictly give any new privileges to the people, but was rather an assertion of rights always claimed by the people, or of principles that lay at the foundation of English civil life, but which had fallen into disuse or been purposely evaded or infringed by the kings in the course of years. "Magna Charta," said Sidney,[1] "was not made to restrain the absolute authority, for no such thing was in being or pretended (the folly of such visions seeming to have been reserved to complete the misfortunes and ignominy of our age); but it was *to assert the natural and original liberty of our nation* by the confession of the king then being that neither he nor his successors should in any way encroach upon them."

In studying, then, the civil and common law of the two races who are labouring to build up a new England on the northern half of this continent, we must do it, not from the purely legal standpoint of a practising lawyer, but rather in the spirit of a philosophic historian desirous of following the influences of systems of law on the social customs, the usages of the people and the structure of government. As I have already shown you, the historical method can be as well applied to the study of law as to other subjects that fall within the domain of Political Science. The thoughtful student will in this way be able to trace the steady growth of principles adapted to the ever varying conditions of society.

It is well observed by an eminent writer in a recent issue of an English review that "jurisprudence itself has become a study of the living growth of human society through all its stages, but it is no longer possible for law to be dealt with as a collection of rules imposed on societies as it may be by accident, nor for the resemblances and differences of the laws of different societies to be regarded as casual."[2]

I quote this suggestive paragraph to show you the wide scope of the studies that must enter into any course such as I hope will be sooner or later carried out in connection with all our universities.

Or, consider one moment how necessary it is to study the principles of international law. It will be said that Canada is still a colony, and has no right to make treaties and enter into relations directly with foreign powers. But the time has already arrived when this study has become important.

As a result of the very liberal system of self-government granted to Canada, and in consequence of the great territorial expansion she has attained as one of the most important consequences of this self-government, the Dominion has assumed the proportions of an Empire. It has commercial relations with many countries, and our statesmen are now stimulating rapid steamship communication with Europe and Asia. The dream of La Salle, on the banks of his seigniory at Lachine, to find a shorter route to the riches of Cathay, is being realized in this dependency, not of the France he loved, but of her hereditary enemy. Or, consider the situation of Canada on the borders of a colossal republic, which constantly gives rise to questions affecting the relations of the two nations. For instance, we have seen of recent years important international questions arising out of the fishery dispute. All these matters involve negociations of a delicate

[1] Sidney on Government, c. 3, sec. 27.

[2] "Sir H. Maine and his Work," by Sir F. Pollock, Contemporary Review, February, 1889.

character, and show how necessary it is for our statesmen and publicists to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the rules and principles that govern communities in their dealings with one another. Though Canada is still a dependent state, yet her importance entitles her, as her recent history will show you, to be consulted and represented on every occasion when her interests are immediately affected by a proposed treaty. Consequently, every year that passes gives greater scope to the abilities and learning of her public men. The relations of Canada to other peoples, and especially to aliens who are domiciled or mere temporary residents in the country, and the necessity of observing the great moral elements that lie at the basis of international law—the duties of humanity, comity and intercourse—entail responsibilities on our people which must be enlarged with the increase of the wealth and population of the Dominion.

Some of you who now hear my words may see the relations between the parent state and its different dependencies undergo a very important change, which may give our statesmen a direct and larger influence on the destinies of the whole Empire—when a Canadian will have as potent a voice on imperial affairs as a dweller in Kent or Devon. Higher conditions of national existence must be in store for a country like Canada, which has expanded so remarkably in political greatness within a few decades. It may be that the Imperial Federalists will eventually find a solution of the great problem they are busy with in Great Britain and its dependencies, and Canadians will become citizens of the Empire in reality, and as such able to negotiate directly with foreign nations. But in any case, as things are now, Canadians must necessarily find it to their advantage, whether lawyers or politicians or ordinary citizens, to learn something of that public law which governs the relations of sovereign peoples with one another throughout the civilized world.

Political Economy is another of those useful studies which are naturally allied with others on this wide domain. Look around us, and do we not see how important it is for Canadians to understand the principles or doctrines which have been laid down by men like Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Carey, and others I need not mention here, who have devoted their lives in Europe and America to a branch of science so fruitful of discussion, and so intimately connected with the industrial and commercial development and the material prosperity and social comforts of a people? Every year that passes sees questions connected with the health, and the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes demanding the consideration of our legislatures. Only last session of parliament we had laid on the table a number of bulky volumes representing the work of a commission appointed by the Dominion Government to enquire into subjects of deep interest to labour. Or, when I refer to the fact that we have a "national policy" which is practically a system of protection, I show you as Canadians how important it is to understand the principles which recommend it to so large a body of people in the Dominion, in preference to the principles of the opposing party who would have a system of indirect taxation for revenue and would give a fuller expansion to free trade with other peoples. With this study are intimately allied the questions of unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union, which are of an economic character, requiring a large knowledge of the economic conditions of Canada, and of the United States, and a thorough understanding of the sound principles which should guide us in our international relations. An accurate knowledge of statistics which are now a recognized branch of economic science,

(despite the old saying that figures can be made to prove anything) is invaluable in the consideration of questions like those I have cursorily mentioned. It is only necessary to study the pages of the works of a man like Mr. Mulhall, the eminent English statist and economist, to see how important and useful is a scientific method of handling figures and drawing from them sound deductions as to a nation's prosperity or decline.

While it is to England that we naturally look for those lessons and examples of statesmanship and political sagacity, which may assist us in laying broad and deep the foundations of our political organization and social system, the student of Political Science cannot fail at the same time to draw much valuable instruction from a close and constant study of the institutions, national, state, and municipal, of our American neighbors. They, like ourselves have borrowed largely from the parent state, to which we both owe our origin, in organizing their system of government, and it is the common law of England, we all know, that lies at the basis of their system of jurisprudence. Some among us have a practice of depreciating American institutions, thinking that this is the best, as it is certainly sometimes the easiest, way of showing the superiority of our own political and social conditions; but after an honest and assiduous study of the political systems of both countries, I must fairly come to the conclusion that each of us may learn something from the other, and that there is a great deal to admire in the sagacity, the business-like methods, and the thorough organization of many of the institutions of our neighbors.

If we should study thoroughly the comprehensive and thoughtful work on the American Commonwealth by Prof. Bryce, one of those men who do honour to the great seat of learning on the banks of the Isis, we shall see that this particular study is full of encouragement and warning to us at one and the same time; but "its chief value," to quote his exact words, and apply them to ourselves rather than to England, "lies in what may be called the laws of political biology which it reveals, in the new illustrations and enforcements it supplies of general truths in social and political science, truths, some of which were presented long ago by Plato and Aristotle, but which might have been forgotten had not America poured a stream of light upon them."

As I have just said, both Canada and the United States can trace all the valuable institutions they possess to England. Their legislative bodies have been modelled on the great parliament of the parent state. The many differences that now exist between the government of Canada and that of the United States have arisen from the differences in the political circumstances and varying conditions of the two countries. The United States for more than a century and a half had been colonies of England, enjoying a system of legal and political institutions, which was their natural heritage as Englishmen. When their independence was acknowledged and it became necessary to mature a constitution adapted to the new state of things, they proceeded to frame a government, which throughout shows that they still considered the English government superior in essential respects to all other governments in the world. In the division of legislative, judicial and executive departments which they made, they showed their desire to adhere to those important principles which evoked the admiration of Montesquieu. The president was still the king of England, though he was deprived of powers which the Americans considered fatal to their liberty. He was given the right of veto over legislative acts and of appointing his own cabinet. But the council was not made responsible to or given seats

in congress, a fact quite intelligible when we consider that the king was, as far as the old colonists saw, the controlling power in the nation, and that parliamentary government, as we know it in these times, was not understood by the Americans. The framers of the American constitution knew that among the royal prerogatives was the right of veto, although they forgot it had not been exercised for one hundred and seventy years; but they gave it to the president chiefly because they thought it would be a valuable check on the otherwise arbitrary power of congress. If I should pursue this subject still further, we would see throughout the political system of our neighbors many other evidences of their desire to reproduce British practices and rules when consistent with the system of republican liberty they were attempting to establish. Canada, on the other hand, has remained a dependency, and has necessarily kept pace with the progressive stages of parliamentary and responsible government of the parent state. Our government has always closely followed the important rules and maxims which make up the British constitution. Our statutory law is drawn in a great measure from that of England. It is then most advis ble for us to consider in what respects, if any, the United States system is an improvement upon our own. Whilst it is very interesting to note the differences in the working of the two systems of government, it is still more important to observe the operation of their federal system from which that of Canada is taken in essential respects. In short, an elaborate series of lectures fully dealing with the nature and working of the political institutions of our neighbors should necessarily form a prominent feature of any course of Political Science, if it is to be made of practical and real value to the students of a university.

I might dwell at considerable length on the many subjects that naturally suggest themselves to my mind in connection with so suggestive a theme. Our own system of government itself, drawn as it is from the constitutional and political experience of England and of the United States, is replete with matter for study and reflection. Of Canada and her institutions (particularly her local government, and her federal system), it may be truly said, she "is the heir of all the ages." For instance, the federal idea is one which originated with the leagues that existed in ancient Greece, with those famous Achæan and Lycian federated nations which played so important a part in the history of the ancient world. We can trace its principles, according to the French historian, Guizot, in the working of the feudal system, and in the relations that existed between the rude communities of Europe and the feudal king or chief to whom they professed to pay a modified homage. We can see that it has been the source of security upon which the Swiss Cantons have relied for centuries, though surrounded by hostile and jealous nations. It is a system which rests on the basis of local self-government and a central authority, and it is interesting to trace its development through all times until at last it has found its most perfect realization in the United States, Canada, and the remodelled Swiss Confederation, as well as in the Empires of Germany and Austria, where the machinery is in a measure more complicated than in the American example of federation.

All these subjects to which I have very briefly referred, as immediately associated with, and indeed falling naturally under, the generic term of Political Science, are important to us inasmuch as they bear more or less directly on the development and operation of the elaborate system of federal government which we possess at last as the results of more than a century of political struggle and achievement.

The machinery which works our national (if I may so style our central government) as well as our provincial and local systems of government, is obviously of a complex character, requiring a large number of persons for administrative, judicial and municipal purposes. To those officials and legislators we must add the relatively small number of learned men who are called upon to occupy the bench, and administer the law which, with the exception of the fundamental law or constitution governing the Dominion and its various sections, is amended from time to time by the parliament and the legislatures. If we add to this official and judicial *personnel* the large number of individuals who practice the learned profession of the law, or if we add, too, the numerous persons outside the classes just mentioned who are more or less identified as citizens in the efficient working of our political system, we shall see how many men in this country are deeply interested in the accurate study of Political Science.

The study of constitutional law and of constitutional history, in fact, opens up to the lawyer an exhaustive field of research. It broadens his sphere of knowledge much more than the ordinary technical studies of his profession. Questions constantly arise which require him to make investigations into the annals of the times preceding the formation of the constitution, and to inquire by what events it was preceded, as well as to study the nature and scope of the provincial organizations previous to Confederation.

But it is not merely the lawyer, the statesman, or the publicist, who has a deep interest in the consideration of the various political and economic questions which enter into the course of which I am speaking. There is one class which, above all others, should have a deep insight into the wise solution of the many social problems which arise from time to time and demand the earnest thought of every person who looks to the happiness of the community. No one would wish to see the clergy take an active interest or participate vigorously in the purely political conflicts of the day—I mean, such an interest or participation as would weaken their influence in their proper sphere;—but no one now-a-days can keep aloof from great human interests, and occasions may arise when even clergymen may properly consider it necessary to give warning and advice, not as partisans, but as dispassionate, impartial critics, animated solely by a conscientious desire to unite and not dissever the different classes which make up the people of this Dominion, and to consider the national good as the highest and purest purpose of a Canadian's life.

Nor should I forget to refer to the important effects that a course of Political Science may have upon journalism in Canada. In a country of popular government, the press necessarily exercises a large influence which, on the whole in Canada, is directed to the promotion of the public interests. It is true that party conflict has given to the great majority of our public journals a partisan character which too often prevents the people from obtaining that impartial criticism of public men and matters of controversy which they have a right to expect from their self-constituted teachers. Partisan journalism is, however, one of the penalties we must expect to pay for party government, and the time seems yet far off when independent journalism is likely to assert itself on any large scale. No one will deny that the leading newspapers of the Dominion are edited and written with decided ability, and represent fairly the intelligence of the country at large. The tendency in Canada, as in the United States, is to publish short crisp articles in the editorial columns, instead of the elaborate, and often too heavy, articles which

are characteristic of the English and even the Australian press. When we consider the varied topics with which a newspaper writer has to deal in the course of a week's issue, and the short time he has necessarily at his disposal for thoroughly informing himself on the questions on which he has to speak authoritatively, it is certainly surprising to notice the knowledge of the subject and the insight into its salient points he exhibits. One must at times recognize evidences of superficial information, and a tendency to ignore the valuable maxim, "Always verify your facts." One would wish sometimes to see a greater sense of responsibility and a more earnest desire to elevate public opinion; but these are defects which must in the nature of things be associated with daily journalism. After all, it is well to remember that a newspaper in these days of speculation and competition is a business enterprise. No successful journal is likely to be ahead of the community in which it lives, and its daily tone must generally afford a fair criterion of the state of public opinion around it. As the population and the wealth of the country increase, it must happen that journalism will become more of a profession, offering larger emoluments to deserving men, although they are likely to be much smaller for a long time to come than the rewards open to legal and medical men of merit. As a rule, a newspaper man must be more or less to the manner born. I am hardly prepared to admit that much practical benefit can be derived from the establishmen of classes for educating men in the various departments of journalism, as is proposed, and I believe even now attempted, in one or two institutions in the United States. A reporter or editorial writer must be trained in the drudgery of a newspaper office, must work his way way up and gain practical experience before he is likely to become successful in so arduous and engrossing a profession, demanding special qualifications. But, at the same time, I can see very great advantages to be derived by journalism from the careful study of the different branches of research that should fall within the domain of Political Science. Young men, who have a desire to embrace this arduous pursuit as a profession, ought assuredly to make themselves more capable of meeting the many requirements of a vocation, which every year is making greater demands on varied knowledge. An understanding of the principles of Political Science, of the different constitutions of the two continents, and especially of the United States and England, of historical jurisprudence, of political economy and statistics, of the principles that lie at the basis of the two great systems of law that regulate the lives of the Teutonic and Latin races, must certainly strengthen the confidence of a public writer in himself, and give him a mental equipment which most newspaper men, who have not had such advantages, will fully appreciate. The responsibilities that rest upon journalists in this country are undoubtedly great, and they owe it to themselves and to the public they serve to bring to the numerous questions that come before them for review and judgment the most accurate knowledge as well as honesty of purpose.

We are now laying the foundations of a great community stretching between two oceans, and the more clearly all classes of our people can learn the principles of government, and understand the lessons which the history of our own and other countries teaches them, the more confidently we can look forward to the future, and all we trust it has in store for us. We have already achieved a great deal through the instrumentality of the courageous and astute statesmen who have so far guided this country through its political development. The institutions we now possess compare very favourably in all

essential respects with those of any other country, not even excepting the United States or England; but still there is much to learn, and it is to the young men of the present day, who are now going out into the world to fight the practical battles of life, that we must look to continue the great work of those who have preceded them.

We need not be apprehensive that these studies will educate mere theorists. It is a truism to say that theory must always precede practice. Certainly it has its valuable influences on all political systems, whatever the purely practical politician may say in his contempt for studies beyond his ken. Who ever doubts now the importance of the political ideas of Montesquieu, or the value of the lessons drawn by De Tocqueville from his study of American democracy, or the soundness of the teaching of Burke, or of Hamilton in the 'Federalist'? Or who can exaggerate the influence of the work of Adam Smith in the wide field of Political Economy, since his time so important a branch of Political Science?

But among the great works that have been written on government, there is none that affords a more striking example of the influence that one book can make upon the political institutions of the world, than "De l'Esprit des Lois," which was written in the middle of the eighteenth century. No student of institutions should fail to read carefully a work replete with learning and showing a remarkable insight into the meaning and working of the English government, and the fundamental principles of civil liberty. He may be justly considered the founder of the historical school of modern times which comprises among its teachers many of the most learned and brilliant men who have been, or are now, connected with leading universities in America and Europe. He saw intuitively that we must interpret laws by history, and interpret history by custom. The influence of his opinions can be traced throughout the 'Federalist,' that excellent series of commentaries on the American constitution, which, it has been well observed by Chancellor Kent, "is equally admirable in the depth of its wisdom, the comprehensiveness of its views, the sagacity of its reflections, and the freshness, patriotism, candour, simplicity, and eloquence with which its truths are uttered and recommended." Hamilton, Madison, and the other authors of the constitution were deeply imbued by the ideas of the French writer. History must place him among the great architects of political systems. His ideas have inspired the statesmen of France in establishing their present parliamentary system, and have had their influence on the political institutions of Germany. "Montesquieu," says an eminent French writer,[1] "has left us something more than precepts, he has left a method which enables us to develop his thought and apply it to contingencies that he could not foresee. He exercised a deep and permanent influence in his own time, and is full of teaching for ours. His name is associated with many of the most excellent reforms which this century has seen in France, and he is the representative of the French spirit in all its clearness, breadth, generosity and wisdom."

I can well remember that the discussion of the union of the British North American provinces was actually left for years to theorists in the press, or was chiefly valued because it gave opportunities for brilliant rhetorical flashes in legislative halls. But the day came when this theoretical problem had to be solved to meet the political exigencies of old Canada, and the confederation of the provinces became a reality. Indeed,

[1] Albert Sorel in his Life of Montesquieu in the series of Great French Writers, p. 179.

in a country like this, where the people are of essentially practical instincts in all matters affecting government, the man who should always remain a mere *doctrinaire* or theorist would soon become without weight or strength in the community where he lives; but whoever brings to the practical discussion of the questions of the day sound knowledge, which is based on the experience of the past, and shows he can well adapt principles drawn from the great storehouse of sound political science to the difficulties of the day, he will be found invaluable as a leader of men and the architect of institutions.

No human institutions are perfect, but "an increasing purpose" must always distinguish the development of government, and the thoughts of statesmen must be widened "with the process of the suns," by the experiences of the past as set forth in emphatic and pregnant sentences by historical and political writers.

I have thought it necessary to give these introductory remarks to show the importance that a study of Political Science ought to assume in all institutions of high standing; I hope they will be able from year to year to obtain the services of able men, ready to devote themselves to the elucidation of the various subjects to which I have referred. Lectures addressed to classes in the universities by men engaged in the practical pursuits of law and politics, by men whose opinions are valued by their countrymen for their experience and learning, should always supplement the labours of the regular professors and lecturers, who deal mainly with principles and theories of the schools.

This is the practice of the famous École des Sciences Politiques of Paris; it is much to be desired that the Canadian universities should obtain the services of the same class of men, who may be willing from time to time to give them the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

As I have endeavoured very imperfectly to show you in the course of this lecture, there is a rich field of study and research before you. We live in times of great intellectual activity, and Canadians must keep pace with the results of thought throughout the world. The facilities that are open to us for extending our knowledge of other countries and of learning valuable lessons from the rich storehouse of their experience, are very superior to those possessed by the pioneers and founders of this country. In the times of slow communication with the great outside world, in the absence of electric telegraphs and daily mails, they were at a great disadvantage compared with us, who know every day what is passing in the most distant places of the globe. With our universities, colleges and schools, affording so generous an education in all branches of necessary study, with numerous libraries established in all the principal centres of thought and activity, with scientific and literary societies starting up everywhere, with an able and enterprising newspaper press, circulating varied knowledge of matters of current and immediate interest, young men now-a-days have opportunities for becoming useful citizens which stand out in remarkable contrast with the condition of things even half a century ago. Still, in the early days of trial and struggle in this country, there were men of remarkable ability and knowledge, possessed of a thorough practical comprehension of the necessities of the times, and there was always with the mass of the people that strong common sense, so characteristic of Englishmen, which enables them to tide successfully through difficulties and crises, and without which no learning or knowledge can realize great results in a country like ours. The men who laid the foundations of our social and political structure, a goodly edifice, whatever some doubting Canadians may say, were men

who thought deeply and acted vigorously, and if they had fewer opportunities than we have, yet they made the most of what they possessed. Indeed, we must not forget that after all they had in some respects the same advantages as we have: they had the admirable teachings of Burke and Montesquieu, and the suggestive and inspiring examples of Pym, Hampden, and Russell, of all the fathers of parliamentary government in the parent state. The majority of the people, certainly in Canada, have understood the principles of British liberty, and were always faithful to them, while at the same time they recognized their obligations to the Empire, and remained faithful to the Crown at times when their patience was sorely tried, and their fortunes seemed at the lowest. The point which I should like to make here is this: that we can learn much from the examples of the men, who have preceded us, in studying the social and political development of Canada. We should do well to emulate their patience and perseverance amid what seemed at times insurmountable obstacles, as well as their insight into the safest maxims on which to rest civil liberty and local government.

Let me here utter a warning against mere shallowness. To master one good work at a time, to be able to understand its teachings, and apply them to the conditions of the present and to the exigency that may arise at any moment, should be the aim of every student of Political Science. The tendency in some universities as in the public schools, I am inclined to think, is to overburden the student with work, instead of giving him opportunities for devoting himself to those particular studies for which his inclinations and abilities fit him. I do not know that it is best for a country like this to have too many superficial Crichtons. I should therefore hope that all persons who wish to take up a course of Political Science in addition to those studies which are necessary for mental discipline and to fit them for their respective vocations, will not look upon it as a mere pastime, as quite subsidiary to other things, but will bring to it the perseverance, diligence and interest which will enable them to master its true teachings and make it an invaluable aid to them in the practical pursuits of their lives.

In no department of study is there more danger of being deceived and carried away by dangerous theories and delusive ideas than that which leads us to consider political, social and economic problems. In attempting to lay deep and firm the foundations of government and society in the Dominion—for remember we are at the basis as yet of our national structure—our rulers and thinkers must carefully study the systems of other countries, for there is always much to learn from them; and by no other country are we likely to be more influenced by reason of language and origin and neighborhood than by the remarkable nation alongside of Canada; but we must be careful not to be deluded by the glamour of republicanism or the social tendencies of purely democratic conditions, and to level those old landmarks which can best lead us in the direction of true social happiness and national greatness. It is well to have conservative tendencies—I mean "conservative" in the true sense and not in the elastic political meaning of the word—and not adopt new ideas and opinions simply because they are new. Let us, above all, remember that the Social and Political Sciences are inseparably allied, that the laws of the one influence the laws of the other; and that laxity of morals in society must tend to lower the political conditions of a country. We see in the neighboring United States the danger that is threatening the social fabric from the lax principles that prevail on the subject of marriage ties. This unhappy laxity must and indeed does sap the foundations

of social life and destroy the permanency of the family, the true basis of the happiness and security of every community that aims at real greatness. This is but one instance out of many that I could cite to prove to you how necessary it is to study thoroughly and conscientiously the social as well as the political conditions of communities, in order to accumulate those experiences which may assist us in moulding and perfecting our own institutions. There is no institution or law that we may adopt, that will not have some effect upon our social and and political development.

In conclusion, I can only say we have much to look forward to in this country if we are wise and prudent in profiting by the best experience of other peoples, and in avoiding the quicksands into which indiscreet politicians and dangerous theorists would ever and anon push Canada. Twenty-two years have passed since we entered on the new political era which Confederation has opened up to this Dominion, and we have achieved an encouraging amount of success through the sagacity, perseverance and hopefulness of our statesmen, and the industry, energy and patriotism of the people who have faith in this country and its future. We have achieved this success through the exertions of two races, different in language, in religion, and in certain institutions, but equally allied by the ties of a common interest. The one can gain much from the other: the energy, the common sense and the forbearance characteristic of Englishmen, can well be associated with the brilliancy, the ardour, and the sanguine temperament of the French race. But whatever may be their points of difference, a study of institutions will teach them both to value the great principles and maxims on which rest the foundations of English liberty, and which illustrate the pages of England's noblest history; and it is from the love of her people for home and social purity, from their assertion of free thought and free speech, and from their encouragement of political morality, above all other things, that Canadians can best gather true inspiration and sound example, which will enable them to steer the ship of state into a haven where it will rest secure from the storms that ever threaten its safety.

"——Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.
* * * *
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee."